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EFFECTIVE CHARITY ADMINISTRATION

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The Field of Municipal Charity

It is impossible to discuss the subject of efficiency in the administration of municipal charities without considering how the work done by the municipality is to be related to the activities of county and state agencies and also of private agencies. The first practical question then is, what is the proper function of the city in the field of charitable endeavor? Should the city government give outdoor relief? Should it maintain a municipal lodging house? Should it maintain institutions for delinquent children? In fact, we might ask a long list of such questions as these. Of course, it is impossible to reply to them categorically, but we may lay down the general principle that it is desirable to have the various charitable institutions as highly sub-divided and specialized as is consistent with a reasonable degree of economy. Therefore, the political unit of administration in charitable matters should be large enough so that the number of unfortunate people in each specialized class is large enough to warrant a separate institution for them. Where a city does not furnish, on account of its limited population, a large enough political unit so that specialized institutions are practical, it is evident that the charitable institutions should be developed as county or state institutions so that the larger unit will allow of finer classification. Of course this condition of having a large political unit for the basis of charitable institutions would naturally always be in favor of state institutions for the unfortunate classes, but the disadvantage in having state institutions to serve the interests of a large city is that the operations of the state are slower and more inflexible. This tendency may be illustrated in Missouri by the fact that both St. Louis and Kansas City have had to develop special institutions for delinquent children, although the state has an Industrial School for Boys and an Industrial School for Girls. St. Louis also has had to develop a local insane asylum, although the state has three. The city council, or commission, as the case may be, meets more often than the state

legislature and the need for charitable agencies becomes known throughout the community much more quickly in a compact city than it does in a state which includes a large rural population. No large city can care for its unfortunate classes efficiently if it is wholly, or even very largely, dependent for such care on state agencies. If there is an adequate state agency for any particular class of unfortunate people, of course the city should be glad to utilize such an agency and to bear its just share of the expense connected with supporting it. The same inflexibility which makes the state institutions respond too slowly to local demands is sometimes urged as a desirable consideration in connection with charitable work, because it makes the charitable agencies more free from direct political pressure or corrupting influences. This principle may be illustrated in a line of work closely related to charitable endeavor, by calling attention to the work of the New York Tenement Commission, which gets its authority from the state, because municipal political influences are considered hindrances to efficient work. In my judgment, the danger from petty politics can be eliminated from municipal affairs by independent voters' leagues, municipal bureaus of research and the extension of the civil service merit system, better than it can be evaded by resorting to unresponsive state machinery.

Sociological Investigation

The question as to how much machinery or what kind of machinery is needed to properly care for the unfortunate people of the city can only be determined by a scientific sociological investigation into the conditions of living to ascertain the extent of misery in the city and the most effective means of checking it or dealing with the particular forms of it that prevail in a given city. Therefore, I would say that no city can deal efficiently with the problem of charity without maintaining the necessary machinery for continuous research into its own social problems. It should not be satisfied with special investigations of glaring evils nor with occasional surveys of the whole field, but it should so record the life of the people that it can measure the rise and fall of poverty and of such defects as blindness, feeble-mindedness, or the changes in the number of cripples that are in the community, or even measure the volume of unemployment. It seems to me that we can never deal with the problems of poverty or any other social problem in a thoroughly scientific way without

coming to the place where we maintain a continuous registry of the entire population and enter the facts with regard to every family or detached individual. If a thorough-going system of sociological accounting showed that misery was on the increase, we would know that our industrial and economic machinery was inefficient. There can be no testing of the efficiency of our social machinery unless we have a continuous record with regard to social conditions.

A City Plan for Charity Work

It is plain from all that has been said thus far that no city can effectively care for its unfortunate classes without taking a vigorous interest in making the private, state and national agencies with which its work must be co-ordinated, equally effective with its own agencies. If there are deficiencies in these agencies, the city may be compelled to make up for them by increasing its own activities, but if the condition of inefficiency in these other agencies seems temporary, the provisions which the city makes to meet emergencies should be temporary in their nature and as inexpensive as possible. The duty of making up for the shortcomings of private agencies presents a different problem, however, from the duty of making up for a temporary deficiency in any state or county agency, because, if the need which is inadequately met by private charities is a real need, and if there is any sentiment in the community to the effect that the burden of this should be transferred from private charity to the public treasury, it should be recognized that it is just that the burden of caring for the poor should be laid upon the entire community through taxation rather than be provided for by the voluntary gifts of the generous minority. If the private charities are unable or unwilling to bear the burdens they have assumed they should reduce their plans to what they can handle effectively, and then hand over to the city, to be conducted by the city, any activity for which they are unable to provide. Civic pride or sentiment should never influence any city to start a charitable institution, but a city should only enter into such an activity when the need is such as makes it practically a necessity. It is possible to forecast the future needs of a city more or less by careful study, and it is also possible to weave the various public and private activities into a unified system if sufficient care is taken. In other words, there should be made a city plan for charitable

activities as well as for parks and playgrounds or any other form of social activity.

In Kansas City the investigation which the Board of Public Welfare must make in order to be prepared to pass upon the merits of private institutions furnishes to the board a complete knowledge of the extent and nature of the charitable work being done in the city. The desire on the part of the private charities to be endorsed by the Board of Public Welfare makes them more or less open to suggestions, as to how their charities should be related to each other, and as to what would be the wisest policy for them to pursue. This helps to give a general unity and comprehensiveness to the charity work of the city.

Subsidies to Private Charities

While the private agencies are never entirely supported by funds from the city treasury, the practice of making appropriations to private charitable agencies from the city treasury exists in certain cities. The giving of such subsidies may at first thought seem to be just and reasonable. New York City and Washington, D. C., have both had long and illuminating experiences with this custom. Dr. Amos. G. Warner, formerly Superintendent of Charities for the District of Columbia, and author of that standard work, "American Charities," took a stand distinctly against public subsidies to private charities. A report by the New York State Charities Aid Association in 1899 says:

We desire to state that a careful study of this question has convinced us that the plan of granting public subsidies to private institutions has inherent and grave dangers which it is impossible to obviate, and that no plan can be devised which will insure wholly satisfactory results. We find that appropriations of public funds to private institutions inevitably tend to diminish and discourage private charity; that the system confuses the duties of the public authorities and of private citizens and private organizations, and prevents any clear division of the field as between public and private effort; that it encourages the growth of privately managed but publicly supported charities to an unlimited and harmful extent; that although often apparently economical in the beginning, it is always in the long run enormously expensive; that it indirectly prevents a proper equipment and maintenance of the public charitable institutions; and that its permanent disadvantages far outweigh any immediate and temporary benefits that may be derived when the system is first established. (Revised Edition Warner's American Charities, 1908, page 406.)

Dr. E. T. Devine, Secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society and editor of *The Survey*, published a leading editorial in that paper for December 23, 1911, in which he takes a positive stand against public subsidies for private charities. This whole matter has been so well discussed in the proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections and other places that it is not necessary to repeat the discussion here. It may be said briefly that the consensus of opinion among scientific charity workers is that no city that wishes to get the best results for its money will provide subsidies to private charities as a permanent policy.

The Control of Public Solicitation

Most large cities, where it is impossible for the business men to have personal knowledge about all the private charities, feel the need of doing something to regulate charitable solicitation in the community. Cleveland has developed a quite efficient system of supervision over the private charities through the agency of the Chamber of Commerce. It investigates the various private institutions and advises the public as to which ones are worthy of public support, and it even takes some active steps to suppress fake charity solicitors. It conditions its endorsement upon the observance of certain standards by the private charities which ask for public subscriptions. There has been some discussion about the advisability of having this committee of the Chamber of Commerce undertake to absorb the budgets of all the private charities into one big budget and apportion the funds according to the needs of the various charities, but this plan has not been adopted. In Denver, the various recognized charities of the city have attempted for years to raise their combined budgets through one central appeal. A leading charity worker who is familiar with the charity organization in Denver comments on the plan as follows:

When Denver started on its plan of raising all the money it was to use in the city for charitable purposes through one agency, there was a budget of about thirty thousand dollars. If I am correct the experience is quite clear in showing that the increase of gifts to this central fund does not keep pace with the increase of need. I understand that twenty years ago the project covered the expenses of the different agencies. In the last annual report of the Denver Society, which I advise you to secure, it shows that in the last eleven years the proportion raised by the central agency for the different organizations dropped from forty-five per cent in the year 1900 to a little less than twenty-nine per

cent in the year 1910. In other words, the societies in this group, which number twenty-one, in the year 1900 raised fifty-five per cent of their income outside of the central organization and in the year 1910 raised about seventy-one per cent independently of their agreement with the central body.

My criticism against the plan is two-fold. In the first place as shown by Denver, I believe the thing to be impracticable. Take the Denver Orphans' Home for instance. It looks upon the subscription from the central committee as simply one of its various subscriptions, one from which it receives three thousand dollars, while it must receive fifteen thousand from other sources. On one hand it can neither keep its promise not to solicit from the community nor does it feel under any particular obligation to the central council for its financial methods. My further objection is from the point of view of the organized charity end. Every one of the societies, excepting what they call the central office, is free to go out to non-subscribers. The central office doing the work in the community of organized relief is prohibited from so doing. It results in sucking all the life out of the central office. There is no way to bring to the attention of the community the work of organization more effectively than in the pleas for specific objects such as come so often to the office of the organized charity, and with that possibility cut off, the income is necessarily curtailed and the co-operation between the central office and the community is reduced to almost a vanishing point.

In *The Survey*, September 18, 1909, Mr. Francis H. McLean, who was at that time field secretary of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, describes a plan somewhat different from this which seems more practicable. The plan is for the leading commercial organization to agree that, so far as the members of its own organization are concerned, they will all make their contributions to a central fund to be administered by their own committee and apportioned by it to the various charities in accordance with their best judgment. This would enable them practically to control the charitable program of the city and would give the public the benefit of their judgment without in any way limiting the action of those outside of their own organization and without limiting the activities of the various individual charities in soliciting money from people outside of the commercial body.

In Kansas City the Board of Public Welfare, which is a regular municipal department, is charged by ordinance that it "shall from time to time investigate as to the efficiency and merit of any organizations soliciting funds or other property for charitable purposes, and upon application therefor the Board may issue cards in such form as the Board may adopt, endorsing such organizations as worthy of confidence and assistance. And all organizations receiving such cards shall in manner and form as required by said

Board report in writing to the Board as often as required, stating the uses and purposes to which said funds or other property have been, or are to be, applied." In accordance with this law the Board of Public Welfare has investigated 59 charities and endorsed 41 of them as worthy of public support. These endorsed charities have been printed on a stiff card and furnished to all the business houses in such form as can be used for their ready reference. The unendorsed charities have most of them ceased to be. It is not only desirable to suppress fake charities but also to discourage any charitable enterprises that are unwise and to regulate those that are badly managed or wasteful, even though their motives may be good.

The practice of soliciting money from saloons, which has been carried on by certain women mission workers, has been prohibited in Kansas City by an order of the chief of police. In Massachusetts the Legislature of 1909 passed the following law which went into effect July, 1909:

An Act Relative to the Receiving of Alms in Public Places in the City of Boston.

SECTION 1. No person shall receive contributions of money, food, clothing, or other articles or things in or upon any part of the streets, parks, public grounds or other public places within the limits of the city of Boston, except upon such terms and conditions and within such times and places as may be prescribed by a license granted therefor by the overseers of the poor and approved in so far as it relates to times and places by the police commissioner of said city; and a person so receiving without a license who is unknown to a police officer in whose presence the offense has been committed may be arrested by such officer without a warrant.

SECTION 2. Any violation of this act shall be punished in accordance with the provisions of section forty-six of chapter two hundred and twelve of the revised laws, or by a fine not exceeding twenty dollars.

Under this law, the overseers of the poor granted licenses to the solicitors of the Salvation Army, in which they stipulated among other things that a thorough accounting for all funds raised or used by the Salvation Army for charitable purposes should be rendered to the overseers of the poor.

Suppressing Vagrancy

The practice of begging on the street for individual alms is prohibited in nearly all cities. But in many instances the regulation is not strictly enforced, largely because the police and the public

are not fully convinced that the charitable machinery of the city is so adequate as to make such begging absolutely unnecessary. As a matter of fact, the police should refer all beggars to the principal relief agency of the city and warn them that if they are found begging again they will be arrested, and this policy should be strictly adhered to. This policy was followed with a marked degree of success in the City of New York from June 4, 1902, to February 5, 1906. During most of that time seven police officers were detailed to work in direct co-operation with the Charity Organization Society for the express purpose of suppressing street begging. Mr. Frederick B. Jennings, chairman of the Mendicants Committee of the Charity Organization Society, said at the close of that period:

In the three years and a half since the beginning of this closer co-operation of the police department with this Society, the situation has been absolutely different. . . . Except in a few instances in which we have ourselves asked for a warning in court or for a suspended sentence, practically all who have been arrested and prosecuted on our complaint, through the officers of the Mendicancy detail, have been convicted, sentenced to six months' term, and have served their sentence. In the fifteen months ending Sept. 30, 1905, there were, as we have already written you, 1,863 such arrests, while the entire police force outside the Mendicancy detail were reported to have arrested only 565 persons on a charge of vagrancy. In the month of January of this year there were 195 arrests by the officers of the Mendicancy detail. The Mendicancy detail was abolished on Feb. 5th. In the remainder of that month, a period of twenty-four days, there were reported to have been made only thirty arrests by the police officers, and there is already a very considerable increase of street begging in many neighborhoods.

The report of the commission on "Minor Offenses in Michigan, Conditions and Remedies," appointed in 1909, gives numerous helpful suggestions with regard to vagrancy and, among other things, mentions the importance of having a mendicancy officer. In Kansas City the police department appointed an employment officer in the fall of 1910 and the number has now grown to four. They keep a card record of transient men as they discover them, from day to day, make frequent inspections of the cheap lodging houses, and keep continual pressure on all the vagrants to make use of either the employment bureau or the public quarry, both of which are maintained by the Board of Public Welfare.

If the pressure brought to bear by mendicancy officers is to be effective, no free lodgings in mission halls nor any free soup kitchens

should be permitted; in fact, the standard of the cheapest lodging houses should not be permitted to fall below where each man gets a clean bed under sanitary conditions, and the use of the municipal lodging house, where it exists, should be carefully conditioned upon the patrons complying with a definite program of work. The Civic League of St. Louis published an interesting bulletin on the problem of street begging, December 29, 1911. In fact, there is an abundance of literature on this subject for those who wish to study it in greater detail.

A consistent policy, if strictly adhered to by any city, would result in driving the professional beggars to some other city. In fact, some cities have had the deliberate policy of paying the transportation of transient paupers out of town to the next important city. This policy has made it possible, in times past, for dishonest or lazy paupers to travel across the continent wherever they pleased without paying any railroad fare. At one time, it was common to ask the railroad companies to furnish passes for charity cases, but, in recent years, there have been pretty effective laws to prevent the railroad companies from dumping the paupers of one community onto another community by furnishing them free transportation. The associated charities or charity organization societies of the country have a mutual agreement which forbids the sending of a family that has become dependent in one community into another community to be cared for unless they have relatives there who promise in advance that they will care for them. In fact, the practice of beating their way on the trains is a very common one among vagrants, and the cities of the country have the problem of caring for the hoboes, complicated by this practice of stealing rides. The able-bodied vagrants should be compelled to work and even the cripples should be provided with special work suited to the handicapped. But a strict adherence to this policy in most communities would result in so much complaint against the constituted authorities that the ordinary citizens would probably provide help individually to those who should be subjected to the community's system of discipline. Therefore, efficiency in controlling the problem of vagrancy can only be achieved when an enlightened public sentiment is developed within the community. Besides this, there should be some mutual agreement between cities which will prevent the sending of paupers from one community to another,

unless the community to which they are sent is the one to which they actually belong. It seems doubtful if we will be able to get an absolutely comprehensive and binding agreement between all the leading cities to pursue such a policy, and it is therefore important that we should have state and national laws which will prevent any public or private charitable agencies sending a pauper on to some other community without having proper evidence that that community is his rightful abode. The method of sending them from place to place is expensive and relieves them from that close supervision which might succeed in reclaiming them from their condition.

Outdoor Relief

By public outdoor relief is meant the giving of groceries or other material relief from the public treasury to families in their homes without sending them to the poor farm or other charitable institution.

The giving of such relief is fraught with various dangers. Firstly, if relief comes too easily, it destroys the ambition of its recipients and relief becomes a substitute for work. Secondly, if relief is so given the underpaid workman that it acts as a substitute for what should be gotten in the form of better wages, then the benefits of charity go to the capitalist rather than to the poor. The more of such charity there is given the lower the rate of wages becomes. Thirdly, when public funds are spent for relief, it is very natural that those receiving the aid should be grateful to those who dispense it and should desire where possible to make some sort of return for it. Such return has often been made in the form of votes or political work to secure votes for the poor commissioners' party. This has commonly led poor commissioners to dispense relief with a direct view to securing political power, and the whole fund for poor relief degenerates into a mere political slush fund.

Relief should not be given without thorough investigation of the applicants and the maintaining of good case records and thoroughly constructive treatment of the aided families by a trained social worker. Thus far public outdoor relief has practically never been administered in this way in the United States. The various associated charities or charity organization societies of the country have developed the principles of scientific relief-giving to a high degree,

and it has been an ideal with many of them that they should furnish the necessary advice to relief-giving agencies so that their relief might be administered in the proper way. Most of them, however, have developed into relief-giving agencies themselves, and there is almost universal complaint among them that their funds are not adequate to maintain a proper standard of relief. In very few instances, if any, have the city or county authorities sought and consistently followed the advice of these scientific charity workers. In some cities the public funds have been turned over to the associated charities, to be administered by them, but this scheme carries with it the dangers of a public subsidy to a private institution, although it probably offers an improvement over ordinary public outdoor relief. In Kansas City the process has been directly reversed, and social workers for thoroughly investigating and supervising the applicants for relief are now furnished freely to any of the private charities by the Board of Public Welfare, and their work furnishes the chief basis for the relief of the Provident Association. In some places, where there has been a desire on the part of public officials to proceed cautiously in the problem of public outdoor relief, certain classes of cases have been selected for pensions. The last legislature of Kansas passed a law providing that the county commissioners might grant pensions to permanently disabled people. The last Missouri legislature passed a law establishing pensions for widows and women whose husbands were in prison, the rate being based on the number and ages of the children. The application of the law is restricted to Jackson County, the county in which Kansas City is located. England has recently established an extensive system of old age pensions. The almost universal inadequacy of the funds of private relief societies to maintain a decent standard of relief makes public outdoor relief a practical necessity in large cities. The report of the New York Commission on Congestion advocates a limited application of the system of public outdoor relief in that city, although that city has previously been held up as a conspicuous proof that it was practical and preferable for a city to get along without public outdoor relief. The discussion of this proposal for New York to enter upon some outdoor relief, which was contributed by various leading charity workers to *The Survey* of March 25, 1911, shows that there is a trend of feeling even among the best charity workers in the direction of an effort to solve the problems of the correct administration of

public outdoor relief, rather than to follow the policy of a total abolition of public outdoor relief, if indeed that policy were possible.

Preventing Destitution

There is no doubt that the chief attention of charity workers should be directed toward the prevention of destitution. In fact, if you consider the main cause of destitution, it can be shown how they can all be forestalled if proper plans are set on foot. Among the leading causes may be mentioned unemployment, widowhood and desertion, sickness and accidents, old age, low wages, and the monopolizing of the natural resources.

Unemployment can be met by employment bureaus, the establishment of public works where necessary and by unemployment insurance. Widowhood can be met by life insurance, widow pensions and the safeguarding of living husbands. Desertion can be greatly reduced if society will pay for relentless prosecution. The sickness of to-day is, much of it, preventable. Sick benefits should be provided for along with other daily necessities by membership in benefit societies. Accidents should be largely covered by workingmen's compensation laws and compulsory insurance. Old age pensions should be arranged by law, probably on a basis where the people would provide for them by contribution during their working years.

A number of states have machinery for the arbitration of controversies over wage scales. England and Australia have laws establishing boards with power to fix minimum wages. Wisconsin and Massachusetts have had commissions investigating the feasibility of such plan in their respective states, and the Massachusetts Commission has already reported in favor of the plan. The adoption of such a plan is one of the chief planks in the platform of the National Consumers' League. The tendency of the times is to attack the monopolizing of the natural resources through government regulation of corporations. It is also very interesting to note that both the report of the Commission on Congestion appointed by Mayor Gaynor, and the report of the Committee on Housing, adopted December 11, 1911, by the Pittsburgh Civic Commission, recommend a modified form of single tax as a means of improving the conditions of the poor.

In some eighteen different cities there are free legal aid societies. Kansas City has a Free Legal Aid Bureau as a regular public muni-

cial agency, to prevent the poor from being defrauded out of their just dues. During the first eight months of its existence it handled 2,314 cases at an average cost of 50 cents per case and collected \$6,046.46 for the poor. Provident loan agencies or public pawnshops are a part of the municipal machinery in some foreign countries, but have not yet been adopted in any American city, so far as I know, although they are being operated successfully by private enterprises in various cities.

By laying emphasis on these remedies outdoor relief can be reduced to a very low stage.

Social Service Work in Hospitals

A general hospital is a part of the equipment of nearly every city for caring for the sick poor. The hospital is, in a sense, a health provision for the people, but it is also a charitable institution. The treatment of individuals is not effective if they cannot secure the proper diet, fresh air and clean living quarters when discharged. The recovery of the people may even be hindered by unhappy social relations between the members of a family, or between a man and his neighbors. These conditions can only be remedied by the aid of a good social worker. There is always a question also as to who is entitled to free treatment. This should be determined on the same basis as other charitable relief. Dr. Richard C. Cabot of Boston has developed a social service department in connection with the Massachusetts General Hospital. The success of his experiment has been conspicuous and it has become an example to all charity hospitals. He began in October, 1905, with one social worker. He said, in June, 1911—"We now have nine paid workers and under these we have twenty-five volunteers. . . . As our work has gone on, it has gradually divided itself into a number of departments." He has named and described departments for tuberculosis, for nervous people, for the problems of sex, dealing particularly with the problems of unmarried mothers, and for teaching hygiene.

Institutional Problems

I have not attempted to say exactly what institutions any city should have, but it is inevitable that every city will have some. Whether they are hospitals, infirmaries, insane asylums, children's homes, or any other sort of institutions, they will all have certain

problems which are common to institutional life. The arrangement, construction and sanitation of buildings for such purposes have a great deal to do with their efficiency, but those problems are sufficiently discussed elsewhere and it is not necessary to embody them in this article. The same is true of the problem of diet. If the object of these institutions is to relieve human misery, their work must be tested by their success in serving this purpose. Some of the worst problems in all institutional life are connected with the matters of the employment of the inmates and of the development of their social life. People who lead a useless and monotonous life are bound to be unhappy. It is not enough that the inmates of charitable institutions should merely have their physical wants provided for. They should all be furnished with occupations suitable to their capacity, not only as a means occupying their time but so that they may contribute toward their own support as much as possible. Besides this, they need amusement and recreation and, where possible, they should be given good educational advantages. Outdoor life is preferable where it can be supplied. The limitations of space will not permit me to discuss specific occupations, but the heads of all institutions should be required to give attention to these problems.

The problems of financial management and proper systems of accounting are of great importance. The heads of all departments or agencies engaged in charity work should make frequent reports and these reports should show gains and losses, comparative costs between the various months and years of the institution itself, and between itself and other similar institutions; these comparisons to be based on a standard unit of service. A very full and able discussion of tests of efficiency of this kind may be found in Dr. Wm. H. Allen's book entitled "Efficient Democracy."

Efficient Workers

After all has been said and done to secure proper plans and machinery for doing charity work effectively, the result cannot possibly be achieved through any means unless the people employed to carry on the work have the ability and training to do their work and also have a kindly spirit in their hearts. In order to secure this kind of people the salaries paid to them must be large enough to enable them to maintain a good standard of intelligence and comfort. They must be selected because of their qualifications. Mere con-

siderations of political expediency cannot be given any weight. I believe that a civil service merit system of the right sort is the best agency for securing this class of workers. Such a system would be quite exacting in its standards of admission to the service so that it would be impossible for anybody to get in merely on account of his political connection. The system ought to give the heads of departments or the proper supervising boards great freedom to discharge any employees who are not satisfactory to them. If people should happen to be discharged for political reasons, which of course they ought not to be, there should at least be a guarantee that their successors must be qualified people. I have heard various complaints from heads of departments in different places where civil service rules prevailed, to the effect that it was impossible for them to get rid of dead timber. In Kansas City the civil service rules are quite liberal in granting power to the heads of departments to discharge any employees for any reasonable cause. Some have been discharged from the department with which the writer is connected, for the sole reason that they were inefficient, and no difficulty has been experienced in making the discharge effective. I do not believe that the difficulties which have been pointed out in other places are an essential part of a strict merit system. Those who are accepted as social workers in any city department should not only be required to have some knowledge of social work but they should be required to study continuously, just as public school teachers are required to attend institutes and do a certain amount of continuous study in connection with their work.

Co-ordinating Social Betterment Agencies

The problem of the efficient administration of charity cannot be entirely divorced from the consideration of how the agencies for dealing with the poor are to be related to the machinery for handling the sick and the delinquent. The care of the poor, the sick, and delinquent are interrelated problems. People who are too poor to secure a reasonable standard of living become sick, or people who are sick lose their earning capacity and become poor. People whose resistance is broken down either by poverty or sickness become delinquent, and criminals often become poor through shiftlessness or sick through vice and dissipation. Because of this interrelation it is important that the agencies dealing with all these classes should be carefully

co-ordinated. These classes are also closely related to the problems of bad living and working conditions. They create bad conditions, on one hand, and bad conditions tend to break down normal human beings and throw them into these classes, on the other hand. Therefore, the agencies which are intended to improve bad living and working conditions also need to be closely related to the agencies which deal with the unfortunate classes.

In every large city there are at work charitable agencies, correctional agencies, tenement house commissions or other machinery for improving housing conditions, agencies for dealing with industrial problems, such as a bureau of labor statistics, an employment bureau, and a department of factory inspection. There are other agencies working at the health problems of sanitary inspection, medical inspection of schools, the prevention of infant mortality, the control of contagious diseases and the maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries, etc. There should be added to this category the agencies maintained by the school authorities for preventing truancy and the cure of incorrigibility and backwardness. All these must be woven into one united system. As a first step in this direction, I would suggest the maintenance of a common registry of cases, and a mutual exchange of information. In fact, no registry will be large enough to serve the purpose of all these agencies, excepting a registry of the entire population, such as I have advocated heretofore in this paper. The Boston Associated Charities has developed a very remarkable registration bureau, or "Confidential Exchange," as they prefer to call it, for the use of social betterment agencies. It is quite complete so far as the registration of cases by private agencies is concerned. It also contains the registry of cases from the overseers of the poor and the State Board of Minor Wards, but makes no attempt to record criminal cases, school truants, or a number of the lines of data proposed here. The only public attempt at maintaining a registry of any definite portion of the population, so far as I know, is the attempt in New York City to maintain a continuous registry of the school children, which effort is described in *The Survey*, of February 17, 1912. In order to keep the general registry up to date, it will be necessary to keep some track of the movements of the people. This could be done with some degree of success by requiring reports from real estate and rental agencies and by keeping track of new buildings through the building department, but the population would have to

be checked over periodically in order to make the necessary corrections. But this is nothing more than is being done separately now, by the school census takers, the assessors, the election commissioners and the makers of city directories, so that this plan really involves nothing more than the proper systematizing of agencies already in existence in most cities. I do not believe that any scheme which would seem to restrict the movements of the people, such as requiring them to get permits before moving, would be acceptable in the United States.

I have attempted in this article to give only a general outline of the provisions that seem to me necessary for dealing effectively with the charitable problems which exist in all cities.